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brotherhood of man. Brotherhood implies one Father and can not exist between peoples holding entirely different ideas as to the Fatherhood of God and man's responsibility to man. If we were going to Japan they might ask us to live up to their Golden Rule, but they seek to come here where they can not be assimilated, so we say to them, "You would not want us to come to you to try to make over your country by a flood of whites; therefore, do not come to us, for we will not have our country changed by a flood of yellow, for this is a white man's country." We can not take in a race which can not come here with ties all cut from foreign relationship; whose children are not free to ever become children of America as the children of American white citizens are; a race of people

which is yellow ethnologically, who, if married to whites, will have half-breed children regardless of the "plane" they occupy; a race which is not servile in character and can not live side by side with the whites without showing aggression such as we have witnessed in California.

It is utterly unthinkable that America or an American state should be other than white. Kipling did not say "East is East" of the United States, but if the star No. 31 in Old Glory, California's star, becomes yellow, West may become East. California has been loyal at all times to a flag that has honored her with a star of her own, so Californians, to a citizen, will see that the star of her glory shall not grow dim or yellow.

## The Japanese Invasion

By JOHN S. CHAMBERS

Controller, State of California, Sacramento, California

CALIFORNIA, on November 2 last, went on record at the polls as overwhelmingly in favor of the anti-alien land measure submitted to the electors under the initiative law of this state. Briefly, this action means the strengthening of the existing anti-alien land law, which prohibits ownership, by also prohibiting the leasing of land by aliens not eligible to citizenship. Heretofore leases were permissible for a period not exceeding three years.

In addition, it is sought to stop those loopholes in the first law which enabled elder alien Japanese, ostensibly acting for Japanese children born here and therefore citizens, to evade the statutes by purchasing land in the name of such children, while in reality working the land, exercising dominion over it and retaining the profits. Likewise, it will now be more difficult, if not

impossible, to evade our corporation land laws through the use by Japanese of white men as dummy directors.

Important as the adoption of this measure is for the protection of the state of California, it also is of great importance otherwise, because of the effect this action, representing the emphatic thought of the people of this commonwealth, should have on our fellow citizens beyond the Rockies. Such a declaration by the people of a sovereign state must, I think, call for the earnest attention of the people of the country at large.

California has gone as far as she could go under the federal and state constitutions and the American-Japanese treaty. If she could have gone further she would have done so. The next development California seeks to bring about is the stoppage of immi-

gration from Japan through action by Congress; and the third step, the amending of the Constitution of the United States to the effect that children born in this country of parents ineligible to citizenship themselves shall be ineligible to citizenship.

California appreciates that before these things can be brought to pass sentiment in the East must be created in her favor. She fully believes that with the facts before them the people of this nation as a whole will cordially endorse her attitude. She knows that at present entire sympathy does not exist for her, although she believes that in recent months there has been a change in her favor. She realizes that a hard task presents itself and is prepared to meet it.

Comparatively little bitterness of feeling exists in California on the part of Californians toward the Japanese. There are, of course, a few white men and women who talk loudly, angrily and unwisely. Among the Japanese themselves there has been little evidence of hatred, although, and not unnaturally, they do show resentment. So far the controversy has proceeded with remarkable restraint on both sides. The white people of California are determined. If our fellow-citizens of the East and the Government at Washington show a sympathetic attitude, there should be no break in the rather tranquil situation that exists here. If this coöperation is denied and California feels that she is to be left to shift for herself, then bitterness and strife will develop, and to an extent likely to embroil America and Japan.

Just now, as this is written, the Japanese are threatening to resort to the courts along two lines: first, to have determined their eligibility to American citizenship on racial grounds; and, second (should the former fail), to

have decided the constitutionality of the alien land measure just approved by the people of California.

I do not believe either suit will be brought, at least with any real hope of winning. The present talk is meant not only to "save the faces" of the Japanese here and influence opinion across the Pacific, but also for the effect it may have on Washington. The Japanese are strategists, and persistent. If they lose at one point they turn to another, always seeking to make the best of a situation, good or bad.

So far as the racial issue is concerned, I am informed that such a suit has lain dormant before the Supreme Court of the United States for years, and that the Japanese Government itself has not encouraged action. As to the constitutionality of the land measure, it was passed upon by several of California's ablest attorneys, and it is not a complete secret that more than one of Japan's diplomats and legal advisers have pronounced it suit-proof.

There is no need of excitement over Japanese threats. It is natural that they should feel as their talk indicates, to say nothing of the obvious purpose to influence opinion, and, if possible, to strike a bargain. California has won, and she feels happy and secure in the victory, limited though it is.

There has been more or less talk of superiority and inferiority as between the races, but not a great deal. The issue is a fundamental difference, an unbridgeable difference; not one of superiority or inferiority. Granting equality, the standards of the races are almost as opposite as the poles, and there is no possibility of a common trend ever being evolved. Assimilation is impossible. True, there are a few marriages here and there, but they are the exceptions that prove the rule.

Many of our states by law forbid such marriages. On this coast, and more particularly in the Hawaiian Islands, the Japanese themselves show little disposition to intermarry with the whites; but, on the contrary, a strong desire to marry among themselves. Their racial instinct is very decidedly developed. The two peoples run along different lines physically, morally, socially, economically and politically. As they differ in color so do they in tradition, habits and aspirations. Obviously, therefore, it is unwise for the two races to meet in numbers. If they should, the clash is inevitable. The situation in California is bad enough now; it must not be permitted to become worse.

What is the present situation in California? Many people who do not understand or who do not want to understand ask why all this agitation over 100,000 Japanese in a total California population of over 3,000,000, or the ownership or control by these people of half a million acres or so in a state that has 99,617,280 acres, and of which area 28,828,951 acres are in farms.

Watch the gopher at work. He starts to bore into a levee, and as he progresses he is joined by more of his kind; then, in due time, the other side of the embankment is reached, and a little stream of water passes through. As the dirt crumbles, a flow increases and unless promptly checked the bore soon becomes a wide gap with the water rushing through and overflowing the land. That is the flood that means loss, and perhaps eventual disaster. That is exactly what is happening in the state of California today through the Japanese policy of peaceful penetration, of conquest by colonization, or, as Yoshi Kuno, Japanese Professor in the University of California, describes it, the "bloodless struggle." As the

water flows in a stream, so do the Japanese move in bodies, not scattering widely or as individuals, but settling in strong groups. The result, in time, is the dispossession of the whites in such areas.

I do not compare the Japanese to the gopher to give gratuitous offense, but because to my mind the illustration really portrays the situation here; absorption by seepage, so to speak. I frankly admit the intelligence, the industry and the thrift of the Japanese, the wonderful strides made by Japan since Peary's time and her proud position today as one of the great nations of the world. But these very facts, because of the fundamental difference between the two races, are what make the situation so alarming today. The Chinese and the Hindoo may have intelligence, may have industry, but they are not aggressive, they do not seek to dominate, nor are they backed by powerful nations intent upon the domination of the Pacific Ocean, if not of the world.

What has happened in the Hawaiian Islands? Out of a total population of about 266,000, all races, it is estimated that 112,000 are Japanese. Very recently I had the pleasure of meeting the principal of one of the schools of Honolulu, and he told me that of the 40,000 school children in the Islands, 20,000 were Japanese; that all had been registered at the Japanese Consulate and that all were claimed by Japan as citizens of that nation. The Japanese in Hawaii today would hold political control if the Islands had statehood. The only way in which this nation can retain ascendancy is by keeping the Islands under the control of Congress, with an appointed commissioner or some such official in charge.

Surely we want no such situation to develop in the state of California.

And yet we are headed directly and obviously in that direction today. According to the official report of the State Board of Control of California the Japanese now own or control in this state 458,056 acres. My personal opinion is that the acreage owned and controlled by them far exceeds this figure. Just as they evade census returns so do they cover up their land holdings. But on the official showing the acreage of land owned by the Japanese has increased 412.9 per cent in the past ten years.

Practically all of the 100,000 Japanese (and, incidentally, I wish to say that Professor Kuno, despite statements by the Japanese at large, admits there are fully this many in California) reside in twenty-nine of the richest counties in the state of California, and most of them in eighteen counties, with 75 per cent of the births registered in seven counties. This is conquest by colonization. They occupy from 50 to 75 per cent of the irrigated area in many of these counties, and have almost a monopoly on the production of small fruits and vegetables; while they have made serious inroads along such lines as furniture, hardware and clothing and almost dominate the fishing industry of the state of California, particularly in the southern waters.

Few as their numbers may appear, it is the manner in which they are located and operate that breathes the danger. It is not "a weak solution but the concentrated essence" that threatens California.

There are fewer Japanese in California working for white people than there are white people working for Japanese, according to the official report of the State Board of Control. The Japanese are of no service to the small farmer. At first they are willing to work for wages, then for a portion

of the crop, then under a lease and finally by hook or crook, if possible, they secure ownership.

Of the 100,000 Japanese in California, 50,000 represent the increase since the "Gentlemen's Agreement" was entered into by the American and Japanese governments. Incidentally, I wish to point out the criminal unwisdom of that agreement whereby we permitted Japan to be the sole judge of what immigration should be admitted to the United States from that country, leaving ourselves without a voice. Before the agreement, the Japanese population was not quite 30,000, and the births, less deaths, up to last year were 20,000, making 50,000. It is obvious, therefore, that the other 50,000, or the bulk thereof, must have come in under the "Gentlemen's Agreement," and, as the large majority of these arrivals were laborers, in violation of that agreement; or else were smuggled across our borders or landed along our coast line, also a clear violation of the law. Nor is this the end of the violations. The "picture brides" brought here primarily so that the Japanese population of this state might be increased, in large majority of instances worked in the fields as common laborers, frequently with babies on their backs, and thus broke in fact and in letter the so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement."

In ten years the Japanese births in California have increased from one in forty-four to one in thirteen, with only one Japanese woman to four Japanese men in population, while there is one white woman to one white man here. Their rate of birth is between three and four times that of our own race. As Professor Kuno says, the Japanese are a "marvelously prolific race." At this rate, in ten years there will be 150,000 Japanese born here, and by 1949 they will outnumber the white

people. Ninety per cent of the males range from fourteen to forty-four years of age, and, aside from the whites, their birth-rate is six times that of all the other races in California combined.

So much as to land holdings and population. Not only are these people claimed as citizens of Japan, not only is their first allegiance to Japan and not to America, but they have, not only in the Islands but here in the state of California, their own language schools and their Buddhist temples. The children, even where they attend the public schools of the state, are compelled by their parents also to attend the Japanese schools where they are taught the traditions, the history and the purposes of the mother country. In their churches they are taught the religion of Japan, that the Mikado, called by them "Tenno," is the "bodily representation on earth of the King of Heaven"; that he is above evil, can do no wrong and must be worshipped as a God. Our missionaries here and across the Pacific make occasional converts, some of whom are sincere at the time and some of whom, perhaps, remain so unto death. But as these people, in the main, stay apart socially, industrially, politically, so do they religiously.

While it is true that this isolation is encouraged by the white people because close association is repugnant, it also is true that the Japanese prefer this isolation and that it is a part of the policy of the Government of Japan and of the Japanese now in the state of California. Professor Kuno of the University of California charges, with no circumlocution, that the Japanese in this state have a government within a government, that they hold their own legislature, with bodies corresponding to our State Assembly and our State Senate; that the numerous local Japa-

nese organizations are tied to a few central Japanese associations, and these, in turn, are tied to the Japanese consuls at San Francisco and Los Angeles, who, in turn, are tied to the Japanese Government itself. Dues are collected from all members, and the enormous sums thus obtained are used largely for propaganda purposes and, as Kuno points out, among other things, for the undermining of some of our educational institutions through the "purchase of unprincipled American professors."

With the knowledge gained by Californians from personal observation of and contact with the Japanese, a clear understanding of their methods of living, their colonization plans, their dual citizenship and religious views, the teachings in their native schools, plus the astonishing assertions and charges by so high-grade a man as Professor Kuno, should the question longer be asked as to why we of this state are alarmed over the presence in our midst of 100,000 Japanese and their concentrated occupation of half a million acres? We have seen the results of the "bloodless struggle," of peaceful penetration; we know the districts where once our white citizens resided that now are peopled by Japanese; we know of our public schools where the Japanese children predominate and we know through what we see, hear and feel, and through such statements as Professor Kuno has made, the purpose of the Government of Japan and the purpose of the Japanese in our midst.

I wish to emphasize the fact that we of California are not acting in a spirit of hatred, vindictiveness or retaliation. We are actuated by the instinct of self-preservation. We see the danger that threatens not only California and the Pacific Coast, but which may involve our country as a whole. For

Japan and the Japanese on their proper side of the Pacific we have only good wishes; on this side, we can not feel so because we know that what they would consider their good would mean our undoing.

We are not unmindful of the situation of Japan as to area and population; in fact, it is our realization of this situation that emphasizes the gravity of the issue. In addition to the imperialistic designs of the militaristic group that controls Japan stands forth the great economic pressure on that country for expansion.

Japan proper has an area of about 140,000 square miles, and a population estimated at 65,000,000; the United States, an area of 3,026,788 square miles and a population of 105,000,000; California, an area of 158,000 square miles and a population of about 3,400,000. The percentages of population as to area tell the story.

Japan must expand, as one of her editors has declared, or smother. This side of the Pacific is far more inviting than the other, to say nothing of the fact that she has already seized every available opening.

Japan now dominates the Orient, and by force. She seeks the eventual domination of the American side through her policy of peaceful penetration, the "bloodless struggle" of conquest by colonization. Her purpose is obvious.

In the face of such a situation there can be but one policy for California and, or should be at least, one for America. Even if it were true that Japan permitted aliens to own and farm land in that country, as is claimed, and it is not true; even if it were true that the Japanese were the pioneers and upbuilders of California, as is claimed, and it is not true, such assertions or arguments are beside the mark. We freely grant Japan the

right to enact such laws as she pleases for the government and development of Japan, but we deny that because she may legislate along this line or that line, that America must follow suit. It is a question of sovereignty and of self-determination; not one of duplication or of tit for tat.

Japan's assertions as to the privileges granted foreigners are in most cases either half-truths or false; but even if true it would be a case of extending little of real value for something of great value, of proffering a shadow for a substance, of driving a keen and not too honest a bargain. How many Americans desire to reside in Japan, to engage in business there, to farm there? That is not the real question, of course, although the trend of Japanese argument in this state was largely on the theory of a so-called fair exchange. The issue is our right to conduct our own affairs in our own way, to say who shall live among us and who shall not; to be the judges of what is best for ourselves, our children and their children, for our state and our country.

In the courtyard of one of California's most famous hotels there stands the life-sized statue of an Indian, leaning slightly forward, his right hand shading his eyes, and underneath him, cut into the solid granite, these words: "Where there is no vision the people perish." We of California see clearly today; the pity of it is that we did not see more clearly twenty years ago, or even ten years ago.

The stoppage of immigration and the refusal of citizenship to children born here of alien parents ineligible to citizenship, in addition to the alien land law just approved, will be a tremendous aid. It will mean the salvation not only of California but also of this coast. There yet remains a great problem, however, the problem

of 100,000 Japanese in this state and the 150,000 Japanese in the country at large. As the population of this marvelously prolific race grows and grows, what is to be the outcome? Their children born here are citizens, and their children will be citizens. There are 30,000 native sons and daughters in

California today. While the evil may be held down, while it may be minimized, it has gone too far to be eradicated. We are face to face with one of America's greatest problems, and it calls for the highest grade of citizenship that the issue may be met well and wisely.

## Japanese in the Melting-Pot: Can They Assimilate and Make Good Citizens?

By V. S. McCLATCHY

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**T**HERE are three principal elements in the menace threatened by Japanese immigration to this country. They are:

1. The non-assimilability of the Japanese race; the practical impossibility of making out of such material valuable and loyal American citizens.

2. Their unusually large birth-rate per thousand population, already shown in California to be three times that of the whites, notwithstanding that the estimated proportion of adult females to males among the Japanese is only 1 to 4, while among the whites it is, say, 1 to 1.

3. The great advantages which they possess in economic competition, partly due to racial characteristics, and partly to standards of living, organization, direction and aid from their government. These advantages make it hopeless for American whites to compete with them.

It should be evident that we can not encourage or permit in our midst the development of an alien element possessing these characteristics without inviting certain disaster to our institutions and to the nation itself. The evidence on each of these points is apparently incontrovertible.

As to non-assimilability, the first element mentioned in the Japanese

menace, there are three main reasons why it is useless to attempt the making of good American citizens out of Japanese material, save of course in exceptional individual instances. The Japanese can not, may not and will not provide desirable material for our citizenship.

1. The Japanese *can not* assimilate and make good citizens because of their racial characteristics, heredity and religion.

2. The Japanese *may not* assimilate and make good citizens because their Government claims all Japanese, no matter where born, as its citizens.

3. The Japanese *will not* assimilate and make good citizens. In the mass, with opportunity offered, and even when born here, they have shown no disposition to do so, but, on the contrary, pronounced antagonism.

There can be no effective assimilation of Japanese without intermarriage. It is perhaps not desirable for the good of either race that there should be intermarriage between whites and Japanese. The laws of some states forbid such marriages, but even where such marriages are permitted and encouraged, the Japanese themselves will not take advantage thereof. That is best demonstrated in Hawaii, where